might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10 yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/2 to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns. During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful. Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons altogether, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some bestial Negroes.

[285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages consist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters (Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm (Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these houses have no walls, it is obvious that doors and windows are not required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork, into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the European market.) These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without being fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip, the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts into it with a chopping knife.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

vations extending over a series of years were available, it would probably be found that the precipitation varies considerably from year to year. For instance, according to reports the winter months of 1909–10 were attended by an unprecedented rainfall. On the whole, therefore, it is safe to assume that the observations of the engineers referred to represent a fair average of the precipitation of this region.

In consequence of the great rainfall and the constant saturation of the ground, floods are frequent along all the rivers of this region. These freshets come, of course, only when there is a continuous and an unusually heavy fall of rain for several hours, or, as sometimes happens, for several days. In the latter event the Rio Cayapas rises several feet at its mouth, which is itself upward of a mile wide, and where the lowness of the bordering lands permits the stream to spread over wide areas. Farther up-stream, where the hills confine its waters, the river rises much higher; and at some points, where for considerable distances there are no low flood-plains and where the banks are steep, it rises as high as fifty feet.

As a result of such conditions there has been developed a form of pile-dwelling, the floor of which is raised from six to twelve feet above the ground. The Cayapa always endeavor to build their houses as near the river as possible, on account of their dependence on it as a means of travel and for other purposes. The floods, however, must always be taken into account in selecting a site even for such a pile-dwelling, since at times of such

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

floods it not infrequently happens that the waters rise so high as completely to surround the house, and indeed sometimes to within a few inches of its floor.

The excessive rainfall naturally produces great humidity,[2] which would be very oppressive were it not for the fact that the sky is almost constantly overcast, so that the full power of the sun is rarely felt in the region. This fortunate circumstance renders the climate, which would otherwise be almost intolerable, very equable and pleasant.

RESOURCES

TREES AND PLANTS

By virtue of the climatic conditions above set forth the vegetation of the Cayapa region is typically tropical. Almost every foot of ground is covered by a dense jungle growth comprising many species of trees, palms, shrubs, and smaller plants, and characterized by an abundance of vines and parasitic vegetation. So dense is this growth that it is practically impossible to travel on land even a short distance without the use of a machete.

Among the most important and characteristic plants of the region are the various species of palms, many of which are put to use by the Cayapa in one way or another. In the following list of the trees and plants of this section are given the Cayapa and the local Spanish names of those palms which are most useful to the

[2] One of the engineer's reports, above referred to, places the humidity at an average of about 80 per cent.

Ethn. Cat. 116, 1 pp.
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[p. 6]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the means employed to accomplish it, the advantages in this new location over their former mountain habitat resulted in greater ease of agriculture, improved conditions for growing plantains, facility of travel on the river, and proximity to the sea. The change from their former life, which was that of a village community of mountaineers with maize as the staple food, was very considerable. They at present live scattered along the banks of the rivers, each family keeping to itself in large measure, but they still preserve a semblance of their former village life in the three pueblos, Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, each of which is a common meeting place for its particular division of the people.

The provincial and national governments recognize, in a way, the rights of the Indians to full and peaceable possession of their territory, and have endeavored to protect them by enacting laws prohibiting the settlement of other peoples along the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. The enforcement of these laws, however, has been quite another matter, for the negroes, descendants of former slaves of Colombia and Ecuador, in later years have gradually worked their way up the streams until now their houses extend as far as Corriente Grande. Formerly Cayapa houses were found as far down-stream as Borbon, at the confluence of the Cayapas and Santiago rivers, but at present the house farthest down-stream is only a short distance below the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas.

As for the white population of the entire Province of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

ethics is very high among the Cayapa themselves, and any case of unfaithfulness, if such were to be discovered among themselves, would be most severely dealt with. About 1897 or 1898 two negroes came to a Cayapa house, drove the men away, and took possession of the premises with the women occupants. On the following day the chief sent down the river a commission which conveyed to the local teniente politico at La Tolita the heads of the negroes, carefully wrapped in leaves of the hoja blanca, as well as the compliments of the chief, and with an explanation as to the reason why the heads had been separated from the bodies. Incidentally the explanation conveyed the intelligence that future offenses of this kind would be punished in like manner. The teniente politico was requested to forward to the governor at Esmeraldas the two heads and the above message, but owing to the rapidity of decomposition in the tropics, it was deemed best to give the governor the benefit of the message only. Fortunately for all parties concerned the governor's reply, it is said, was a complete vindication of the action of the Cayapa. So far as could be learned, no similar crime has been committed since that time.

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DAILY LIFE

The social organization of the Cayapa has a strictly family basis, although according to their own traditions they formerly lived, when at Ibarra and Pueblo Viejo, in village communities. At present each family regularly lives entirely separated from every other family, and usually at a considerable distance from its nearest

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

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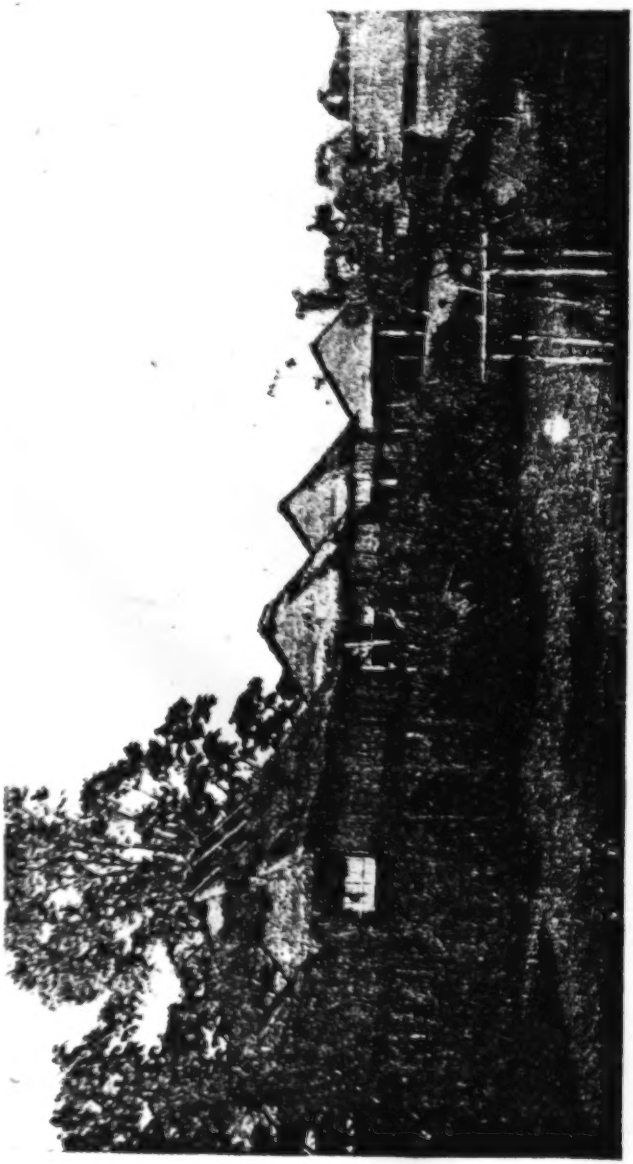
PL. VIII



VILLAGE OF PUNTA VENADO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 52(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

near the permanent dwelling, and is almost always surrounded by cane-fields. The cane-mill is equipped with what may be termed the mill proper, consisting of a pair of large and very heavy rollers with a large hand-wheel used in turning them, the large storage pots for fermenting the cane juice, and the fireplace and pottery still used in distilling the rum made from the fermented juice. The similarity which such a mill bears to an ordinary dwelling is shown in pls. I, II, in each of which the structure to the right is the mill, and that to the left the dwelling. These two illustrations show also how close together the mill and the dwelling are sometimes built. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, with a field of young cane in the background. The dwelling of the owner of this cane-mill, illustrated in pl. V, is situated directly opposite on the bank of the river.

The three classes of buildings described are generally isolated from others. The continuously inhabited dwellings are never assembled into villages, but are scattered at intervals along the banks of the stream. There are, however, within the Cayapa territory, three villages, each consisting of a church and a number of houses. These villages are used by the people only when they come together for religious feasts and on other festival occasions. The houses in these villages are never occupied regularly except at such times, though they are constructed in every way like the dwellings occupied permanently by the people as homes.

The church, which of course is a modern institution, having existed only since the time of the Spanish con-

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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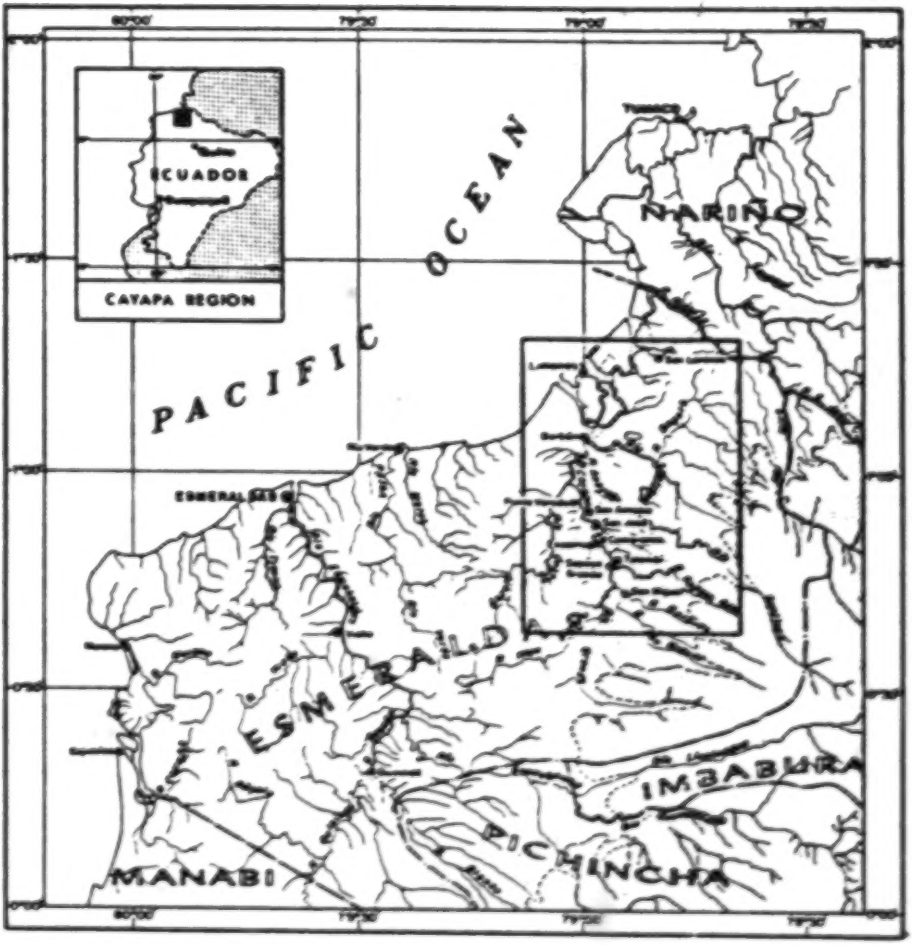

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES
PROVINCIAL CAPITALS
VILLAGES
SETTLEMENTS
AREA ABOVE 500 METER CONTOUR

ESMERALDAS PROVINCE, ECUADOR

of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Sapallo Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Camerones, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Punta Venado, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade.

The most characteristic feature of the area is its riverine quality, and settlement and movement centers on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large hilly land areas between the rivers are completely uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes foot travel exceedingly difficult. Except for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river scene is seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage

small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term ranchos. In general construction these ranchos are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete"person "un hombre completo" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Añapa, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

[The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them.] Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ún^{y}i/ began the work of

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiesteros, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

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Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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